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L'acculturation des Inuit de l'Ile Belcher, dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest, fait l'objet de cette recherche qui est centrée surtout sur les programmes éducatifs que conçoit pour eux le ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord. La première partie du rapport étudie l'histoire de cette acculturation et les formes que prennent les influences euro-canadiennes qui sont à la racine de la perception que l'Inuit se fait de la société qui vient l'englober. Par la suite, le document décrit ce que les Inuit ressentent comme des besoins auxquels devrait répondre l'école et rend compte de leur attitude à l'égard de l'éducation comme moyen d'adaptation sociale.

Le rapport découle d'une recherche anthropologique menée durant l'été 1967 à Great Whale River, au Nouveau-Québec, et sur les Iles Belcher. Les données ont été colligées lors d'entretiens informels et non-structurés, menés autant auprès des écoliers que des adultes; les entretiens étaient cependant basés sur un questionnaire et se déroulaient à l'aide d'interprètes dont la fiabilité avait été vérifiée.

Diverses recommandations sont formulées en conclusion de cette étude; elles ont trait à: 1. la création d'un programme d'éducation des adultes; 2. la participation des adultes au processus éducatif; 3. l'enseignement des valeurs de la culture inuit; 4. l'explication des modèles sociaux de la civilisation occidentale; 5. la préparation des professeurs à utiliser la langue inuktitut; 6. rendre plus attirants les postes d'enseignants dans le Nord; 7. la participation des inuit à l'administration scolaire; 8. la fourniture de services psychologiques; 9. la question de l'assimilation ou de l'adaptation mutuelle entre Inuit et Euro-Canadiens.

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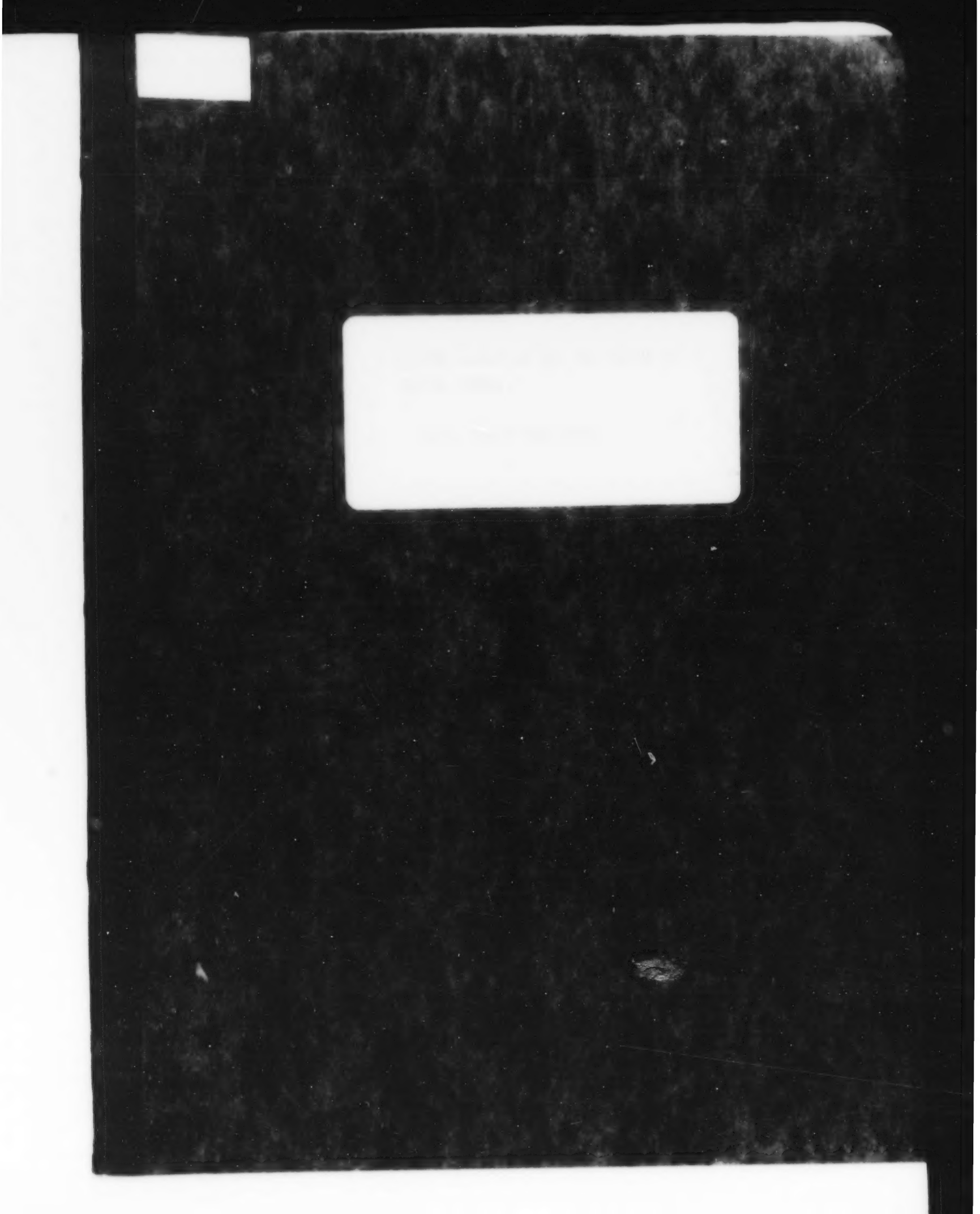

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ESKIMO EDUCATION AND THE TRAUMA OF SOCIAL CHANGE

By

David Omar Born

This report is based on research carried out in conjunction with a research grant from the National Museum of Man, Ottawa. It is reproduced here as a contribution to the study of peoples undergoing rapid social change. The opinions expressed are entirely those of the author and not necessarily those of either the National Museum of Man or the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Requests for copies of this report should be addressed to Mr. A.J. Kerr, Chief, Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.

Northern Science Research Group,
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development,
Ottawa, January 15, 1970.

ABSTRACT

The research described herein deals with the acculturation of the Belcher Island, N.W.T. Eskimo with particular attention given to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development education program affecting them. A review of the period of historical contact reveals that while there are a number of sources of western influence for the Eskimo, it is the school program which is the most predominant in the eyes of the Eskimo. There is great reliance upon the education program for enabling them to become members of Canadian society, but Eskimo attitudes toward and evaluation of the schools indicate a mood of dissatisfaction with the program. The root of this uneasiness can be found in what has been termed a sense of socio-economic inadequacy. The socio-economic reality which the Eskimo knows confronts him with the fact that he is largely unable to maintain his present standard of living without a blatant dependency upon the Canadian government.

The Belcher Island Eskimo are of the opinion that if they are to overcome this dependency condition, then they must have an education which will fulfill their needs. Hence, in this paper education is evaluated in terms of how well it is meeting the expressed needs of the Eskimo. Several recommendations for change are made, all of which are based upon the belief that if the Eskimo education program is to be successful, then it must be a program which involves both the Eskimo adapting to the western socio-economic world and the Euro-Canadian government administrators adapting their plans and policy to the Eskimo world whenever possible.

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Introduction

As Diamond Jenness has pointed out so well, the future of the Canadian Eskimo acculturation problem is largely in the hands of the education sector of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (1964: esp. 166 ff.). The other divisions of the Department are organized with the primary purpose of administering to the problems of the present, but it is the educators who must anticipate and prepare for the future. The present paper is a report on the acculturation of the Belcher Island Eskimo with particular attention to the DIAND education program affecting them.

It should be noted at the outset that acculturation is not a "thing" or an "event," but a transformation process involving, in the case under study, a dominant and a subordinate society. We are examining but one aspect of the incorporation of traditional Eskimo society into the technologically more advanced and socially more complex society of the Euro-Canadians. The education program is one of several tools used by Euro-Canadian society to effect that incorporation.

We shall begin our study by examining the history of Belcher Island Eskimo acculturation with special emphasis on the Euro-Canadian influences affecting present-day Islanders. It is important to identify these various influences since it is on the basis of such contacts that the Eskimo forms his impression of the society of which he is rapidly becoming a part. We can then outline what the Eskimo perceives as his educational "needs,"[1] realizing that these needs are necessarily determined by the influences or information which reach the Eskimo from Euro-Canadian society. We will also look at the Belcher Island Eskimo's attitudes toward education, particularly as these occur in the context of the socio-economic situation involved in their acculturation. In the

concluding chapter, we will discuss some suggested changes, trying whenever possible to see the implications of educational programs for the future of Eskimo society.

Our particular concern in this study is not with the education program as education per se, but rather with it as the primary agent through which the Eskimo are gradually being incorporated into Euro-Canadian society. Our point of inquiry then is the social psychological characteristics of the encounter between the Belcher Island Eskimo and the federal school program.

This paper is based upon anthropological field research conducted in Great Whale River, Quebec and on the Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories (Figure 1) during the summer of 1967. The data were obtained primarily through informal and unstructured interviews. These interviews involved every school-age child on the Belchers and at least one, but usually all adult members of each household. A prepared questionnaire served as a guideline for the interviews, but the questions were open-ended and explanations, rather than simple answers or binary responses, were encouraged. Once word of my interest in the school program spread, many visitors came to fill me in on points which either they or I had overlooked, to elaborate on some matter of particular concern to them, to simply repeat what they may have said in an earlier interview, or to inquire as to when I would be visiting their home.

There are two points which ought to be brought to the reader's attention; both concern shortcomings of the research.

First, it was necessary to use interpreters in obtaining the data. I was fortunate enough to have three available to me during various stages of the study. Whenever possible I

interviewed people twice, using different interpreters and some overlap of questions in order to assure some reliability in the data. Also, Dr. D.L. Guemple, who accompanied me, had been on the Islands previously and spoke the native dialect. He was of great assistance and, incidentally, confirmed my faith in the interpreters.

Second, there is virtually no expression in the report of the government's point of view with respect to Eskimo education. Obviously the teachers and administrators have problems just as do the Eskimo. Unfortunately, during my visit neither the teachers nor the administrators were in the vicinity; of the twenty or so to whom I wrote concerning the Belcher Island children, only two responded. The Ottawa education officials were most helpful when I requested information from them. In any event, the study was intended to be one of Eskimo needs and attitudes, and so perhaps I can be forgiven for not completing the picture within the confines of this report.

In addition to the Belcher Island Eskimo and the Canadian officials who were especially helpful, particular appreciation is due to the National Museum of Man, Ottawa; to the Department of Anthropology and the Office of Research and Projects, Southern Illinois University; and to the National Science Foundation, all of whom are in some way responsible for the opportunity to visit the Belcher Islands. Special thanks are also due to Dr. D.L. Guemple for his guidance in the field, and to Dr. Jerome Handler for his professional encouragement and critical assistance.

David Omar Born
Carbondale, Illinois
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II

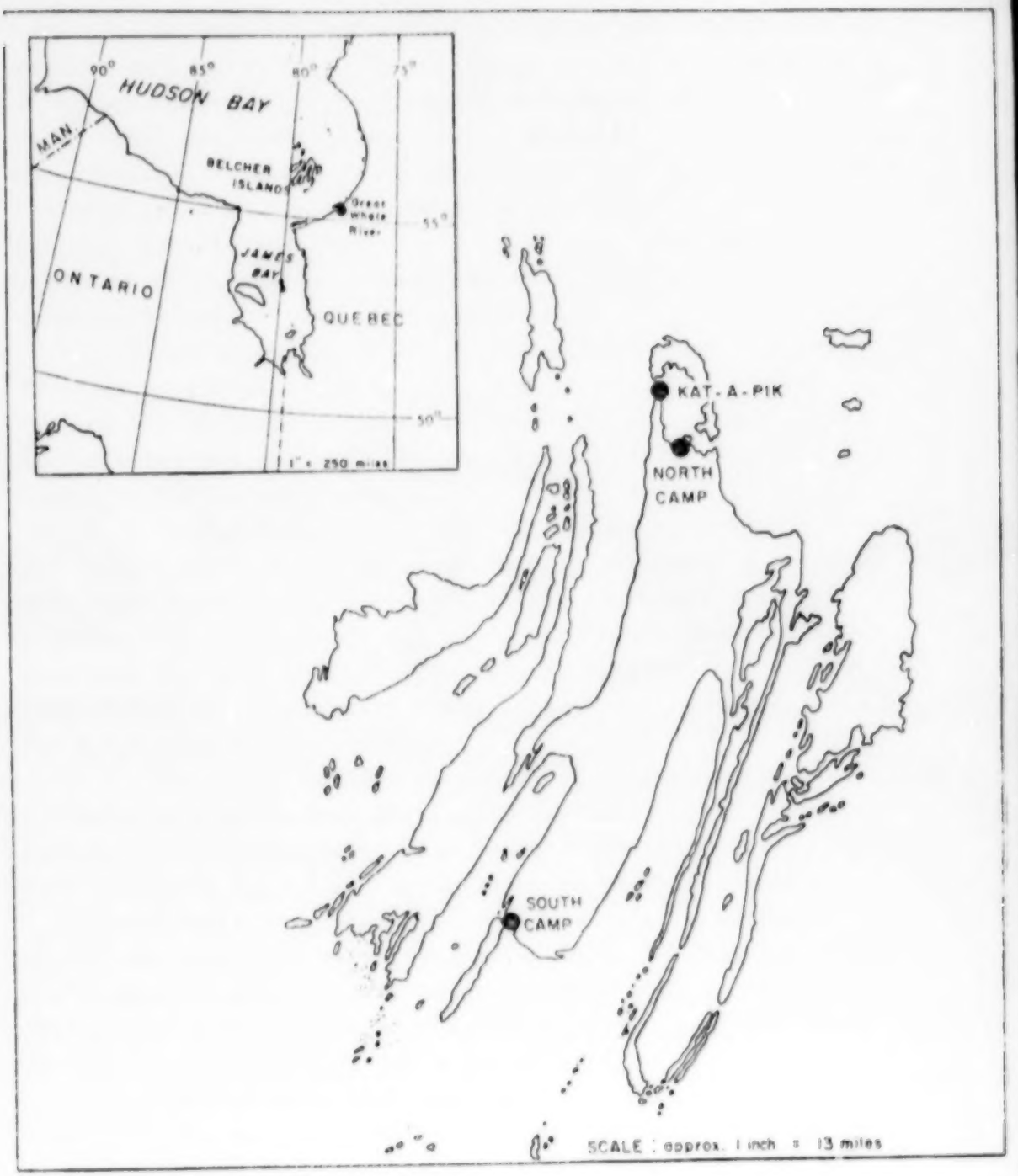
An Assessment of Belcher Island Eskimo Contact with Euro-Canadian Society

In presenting the Islands'[2] history of contact with Euro-Canadian society we will outline only briefly the earlie periods, doing so because the influence of the first contacts upon present attitudes is virtually impossible to determine. For a more complete description of the earlier history the reader is referred to Guemple (1966: 1-19) and the reference contained therein.

The period of contact with western civilization has been relatively brief for the Belcher Island Eskimo. One of earliest contacts with the Islanders is recorded in the 1847 official correspondence of the Hudson's Bay Company. At that time a short visit was made by the Company trader stationed in Great Whale River. Company records indicate that in the years 1847 and 1849 the Company clerk conducted a "camp trade probably with the assistance of a mainland Eskimo. Tradition trading goods consisted primarily of basic food staples (basi that is, to the white man) such as flour, tea, sugar and salt as well as tobacco, needles, thread, wine, and rope, guns, powder, shot, shell casings, knives, fishhooks and a variety of trinkets and novelties. In return, the Company received furs, sealskins, ivory, and handicraft items.

Guemple (1966:6) has indicated that this early trading was sporadic and that insofar as one can determine, it initially had little effect on the economic and sociocultu situation on the Islands.

Robert Flaherty visited the Islands in 1915. Films which served as the precursor to the classic "Nanook of the North" were taken by him on the Belchers (Flaherty 1918, 192 b, c, and 1924; see also Griffith 1953, Anonymous 1952, and Mainwaring 1954).



BELCHER ISLANDS, N.W.T.

By 1928 the Hudson's Bay Company had established a regular camp trade with the Islanders. Trade was conducted by an Eskimo trader until 1930 when a succession of Euro-Canadians began operating a small post on the Islands. In 1955 the plans for a Belcher Islands mining development fell through and trade was once again in the hands of a resident, but non-native Eskimo. In 1963 westerners once again took over the actual operation of the Company store and it continues to be operated by one, or two, westerners today.

The influence of the Anglican Church and its missionaries is difficult to assess. E.J. Peck, a missionary working out of his station at Little Whale River, Que., may have visited the Islands between 1853 and 1891. Whether he did or not is uncertain.

In any event, in 1918-19 and again in 1940-41 the Islands were the scene of murders which showed influences from western value systems. One of the incidents involved a quarrel over women, but the other definitely had religious overtones and bore the characteristics of nativistic movements found elsewhere. (Desgoffe 1955; Lechat 1955; Kinmond 1961a, b,c,d,e,f,g,h; Sullivan 1944).

While the Islands have been falling under progressively stronger influences from Euro-Canadians since 1940, the major upsurge of encroachment did not begin until the sixties. In 1960 a primary school was established on Flaherty Island; shortly thereafter the Anglican Church erected a permanent chapel and installed a resident catechist. In 1961 the Hudson's Bay Company store was moved to its present site at Eskimo Harbour and a small nursing station was also built at Eskimo Harbour. Thus acculturation began in earnest.

The Eskimo's material goods are one indication of the influences to which they are presently subjected. Every family on the Islands has a power canoe, ranging in length from 12 to 18 feet and powered by at least one and sometimes two gasoline engines. Many of the families live in wooden houses obtained through the Department of Indian Affairs and

Northern Development. Those who do not have such homes liv in more or less permanent structures constructed from wood, canvas, and linoleum. All families have oil stoves for hea (although many of them do not work), and most cook on "Coleman" type camp stoves.

Some skins are still used for clothing (particula parkas and boots), but virtually everyone wears clothing produced in the north or made of material purchased from th Hudson's Bay Company store. Most families have short-wave radio receivers and many have battery-operated record playe

Eskimo exposure to the social side of Euro-Canadi society is also complex. Once a year the Hudson's Bay Company ship arrives at Eskimo Harbour to deliver supplies for the next twelve months. The entire Eskimo population recruited to help with the unloading, but aside from the su their wages, and any cash they might receive from the sail for soapstone carvings, the Eskimo derive little from the ship's visit. A similar event occurs at South Camp when th government ship arrives with the yearly supplies for the federal employees located there (see below).

Another important, but usually ill-defined, Euro-Canadian influence is that of the Hudson's Bay Company manager. On the Belchers he is undoubtedly an important figure in the social system. His decisions on credit allo ances, on soapstone carving purchases, and on skin valuati directly affect the material or economic well-being of eac Eskimo family. It is thus important to "look good" in the trader's eyes, and to do so requires behaving in ways acceptable to him. As might be expected, the managers ten to prefer Euro-Canadian rather than Eskimo ways and conseq it is economically profitable to emulate Euro-Canadian behaviour. The young men especially seek the trader's com They engage him in card games, visit his home, and laugh w he appears to be joking. He is regarded as a model of beh and an authority on things western.

In addition to Hudson's Bay Company influences, the Islanders have witnessed a number of scientific investigations, some of which have been outlined elsewhere (Guemple 1966: 5-11). With the exception of the social scientists, these personnel rarely have much contact with the native population.

Influence also comes from various government officials who make irregular visits to the Islands. They include the district DIAND officers, the National Health and Welfare nurse (and an occasional doctor), and RCMP officers.

As noted earlier, virtually every family on the Islands has a portable radio with a short-wave receiver or, at least, has access to one. On these they are able to tune in on CBC Northern Service broadcasts in English, French, and Eskimo. The Eskimo programs are the ones most frequently listened to, although broadcasts from communities other than Great Whale River seldom occur for more than two hours per day. Presently the Eskimo programs carry messages from Eskimo in southern hospitals or in other regions of the Arctic. There is a small amount of news of national concern.

Between the various messages music is broadcast; when the program are in either English or French, the Eskimo listen only to the music. No Eskimo on the islands has any knowledge of French, and only two adults, the DIAND interpreter and the maintenance man (both South Camp residents), know even elementary English. The children who have been to school have varied skills in English, but I observed no child making any attempt to listen to the English language programs. They may do so, however.

In listening to the hospital reports and other family messages the primary attraction seems to be the possibility of hearing the name of someone known to the listener. The adults, at least, have little understanding of the forces and magnitude of the government[3], and as a result have little interest in the news broadcasts. The children also show

little interest in the news. This lack of interest in the news may be some indication of the sense of a lack of involvement in the world outside the Arctic.

The CBC has recently begun "Community Action" projects in the North in cooperation with various government agencies, but as yet these have had virtually no impact on the Islands.

Tastes in music are satisfied both by the CBC and by record purchases. Many of the families have battery-powered record players which are usually in the custody of the teenage females. The most popular music is "country and western" while the second choice of the younger generation is "rock and roll." The adults seem to prefer "country gospel" over rock and roll, but the adults were not often seen listening to records. Record jackets are "read" avidly.

Magazines will sometimes find their way to the Islands from the Great Whale River Hudson's Bay Company store or from the Belcher Islands' HBC manager's personal supply. Such magazines are looked at with intense interest for many months by both adults and children. Pictures are frequently cut out and hung on the walls for decoration. Out-dated calendars are also kept as decoration and these often depict scenes of southern Canada. Many calendars distributed by the Anglican Mission in Great Whale River have religious paintings as illustration. Pictures and verbal descriptions of people in other parts of the world are in great demand among the Eskimo. They ask questions about habitat, diet, clothing, weather, and location on maps. Elman Service's book, The Hunters (1966), an anthropology text on hunting peoples, was left out on a table in the author's cabin and stories about the peoples shown in the book were listened to with great curiosity.

The Belcher Island Eskimo also avail themselves of cinema entertainment. About twenty films a year are rented by the Eskimos and ordered for them by the HBC manager.

These films arrive in lots of four or five and are shown first at Eskimo Harbour where the people have obtained an old mission building and are making payments on an electric generator and projector. The films are shown repeatedly with favourites sometimes enjoying a run of six or eight viewings. From Eskimo Harbour the films are taken to South Camp where the Eskimo use the federal school building and its projector.

Comedies of the slapstick variety are the most popular, with "cowboys" or westerns running a close second. The other varieties, e.g., situation comedy, mystery, science fiction, fantasy, find their appeal in facial expression, musical background, and exaggerated behaviour on the part of the actors. Everything from travel films to westerns is viewed with much interest, however, and the children can frequently be seen acting out a "cowboy" the next day with a full complement of supporting roles. Many of the boys and some of the girls have cowboy hats and toy pistols with caps. Boys up to the age of sixteen wear the toy pistols and participate in the mock battles and Indian dances; girls up to the age of fourteen also participate although they appear to be less actively involved and spend less time at such play than the boys.

All films are in English, and one regularly hears the older children who have been to school trying to explain the film to others.

Still another exposure to Euro-Canadian and American life occurs at South Camp where, for three summers, a small tourist fishing cabin has been in operation. Each week between two and six men (and an occasional woman) are flown to the cabin where they stay for about one week with the guide, a summer resident, from the south. Once in a while Eskimo from the village are employed as helpers, but none have anything resembling regular employment. For the most part the tourists have little contact with the Eskimo, but there has been some increase in trade (soapstone carvings,

miniature sealskin boots, etc.) and the visitors sometimes walk the mile-and-a-half to the village to take pictures and to marvel at the poor living conditions. (For the reactions of one such visitor, see Nyuli 1967a,b,c.)

While all of the above factors have been and continue to be significant forces in encouraging Eskimo acculturation, the most important force, and indeed the most continual acculturative pressure (outside of the HBC) has been the federal school program which began on the Islands in 1960 when the primary school was erected at South Camp.

The federal school and its supporting facilities (an electrical generator, a large warehouse, and homes for the teacher, maintenance man, and government interpreter) form the nucleus of the South Camp community. The teacher and his family (if he has one) are regarded as temporary, but essential, members of the village. The salaried government interpreter serves as an ad hoc administrator for the Islands, and the Eskimo parents are able to use his talents in discussing problems relating to the school with the teacher. The other full-time government employee, the maintenance supervisor, is also an Eskimo. He has traveled through much of the Canadian Arctic and is well-trained. He has a rudimentary knowledge of English, but the extent to which he participates in community affairs is uncertain. During the present study he seemed to remain aloof from the rest of the Eskimo, but a recent death in his family may have been responsible for his behaviour. In any event, the life of the South Camp Eskimo revolves around the school and the government employees.

The school at South Camp provides only primary education for grades one to three. For additional schooling, the children are flown to Great Whale River, approximately eighty miles away. Children from Eskimo Harbour from the ages of six to sixteen are flown to Great Whale River for all of their schooling since the village has no school.

The first Belcher Island children were taken to the mainland for school in 1962.

Departing in September, the children are housed at Great Whale River in hostels built and maintained by DIAND. Boys and girls live in separate units with meals and custodial care provided by a set of "hostel parents," the mother of which seems to be the more dominant and influential figure.

The hostel parents (Eskimo recruited from Great Whale River) have the responsibility of supervising hostel behaviour and of drawing up and enforcing work schedules for the children who are expected to help with the chores. The principal from the Federal Day School usually works quite closely with the hostel parents to help maintain discipline and to assure smooth operation of the units.

The children are permitted to visit the Great Whale River community, and many have friends and relatives there. To my knowledge, however, only two Belcher Island children have been permitted to live in the community at large while enrolled in school.

In the summer, as soon as ice conditions permit (which is often July), the children are flown back to the Islands.

While living in Great Whale River the children are exposed to a number of Euro-Canadian influences which we should examine before turning to the perceived educational needs and the attitudes which accompany them.

In the school itself, the children mingle with mainland Eskimo, Indians, and Euro-Canadian youngsters. We were unable to determine the exact influence of these several groups, but evidence seems to indicate that the Belcher Island group tends to remain close-knit.

The children also experience frequent contact with various DIAND personnel. Teachers, of course, head the list, followed by the administrator, the industrial and

engineering officers and their staffs. While most of the supporting staff is either Eskimo or Indian in composition, Euro-Canadians from the south sometimes occupy positions requiring secretarial and clerical skills. Other contacts with Euro-Canadians come from the Department of National Health and Welfare, Department of Transport, Hudson's Bay Company, Quebec-Hydro, Quebec provincial officials, and Nordair Airlines. Such contact also occurs irregularly from charter airline crews and the federal and provincial police. There is a small, but steady flow of scientists and other travelers through Great Whale River, but for the most part they have little contact with the Eskimo. Some increase in Eskimo Euro-Canadian contact was apparent in late August, 1967 as Quebec officials began to supervise or to administer the Eskimo and Eskimo-Indian Co-ops in Great Whale River. This occurred prior to the children's return for the upcoming school year.

It should also be noted that Quebec-Hydro and the Department of Transport employ a number of Eskimo and Indians. Many of these employees room at the Quebec-Hydro installation facilities, and virtually all of them eat three meals daily at the Quebec-Hydro cafeteria where they are exposed to both English and French speakers and their respective behaviour patterns. While none of the present employees are from the Belcher Islands, one would expect that the Eskimo employees, at least, come into occasional contact with the Belcher Island children. The Quebec-Hydro bar and lounge serves as a social center for the Euro-Canadian population of Great Whale River. To my knowledge, only two Eskimo (women) and no Indians have ever been admitted to the club. The Eskimo were sisters, one an interpreter working out of one of Quebec-Hydro's southern offices and the other the wife of a Euro-Canadian employed by Quebec-Hydro.

Finally we might add that in Great Whale River are a number of adults and children who have been to hospitals in such southern cities as Timmins, Moose Factory, Montreal, and Hamilton. Several Belcher Islanders have also

been out to the hospitals. Children and adults alike seek out these individuals for accounts of the things they have seen and done.

Summarizing this overview of the contact periods, we can note that prior to the early 1960's the influence of Euro-Canadian society was fairly minimal. In some ways the situation can be described as one of "selective change." By this we mean to indicate that by and large the Eskimo was generally free to select those aspects of the foreign culture which seemed to the individual to have some particularly adaptive (or attractive) value. For example, the rifle was in many ways a better tool than the native harpoon; likewise, participation in the religious activities of the Euro-Canadians may have provided the individual with a spiritual or economic advantage over his fellows.

Thus until the last decade the Belcher Islanders had remained a self-sufficient hunting people, living in a social and geographical environment which, in socio-cultural terms, was predictable and therefore under their control.

But in 1960, with the initiation of the government education program on the Islands and the introduction of its concomitant government attention, the flood-gates of social change were opened. In the last decade the Islanders have been inundated with social and material stimuli which tax their capacity for assimilation and understanding. As a result, the Belcher Island Eskimo are faced with a complex of social and economic relationships which are largely alien to their traditional tools and modes of thinking.

These, then, are the factors and influences which have been pooled together and from which the Eskimo has developed his conception of the Euro-Canadian society to which he constantly attempts some accommodation. Perhaps the most significant fact to consider is that the Eskimo conception of the world of Euro-Canadians is not identical with the one perceived by Euro-Canadians. The world which the Eskimo knows is one composed of the elements which have

just been discussed; it does not involve understanding of credit structures, the methods and technology of modern science, or the production and distribution of goods and services. All that the Eskimo has is the myriad of "things" which are presented to him and the multiple behaviours involved in that presentation. It seems probable that as time goes by and as influences continue to impinge upon the native culture, the Eskimo's understanding of Euro-Canadian society will become more and more like the reality which southern administrators recognize. Until that time, however, the only western referent which the Eskimo has is the society as it is presented to him through the above-mentioned influences.

Knowledge of this important discrepancy between perceived realities will help us to better understand the educational needs which are felt so strongly by the Eskimo.

As we have seen, there are a number of western influences, but the school program is the one which, to the Eskimo, is the most predominant and, in the words of one of the Islanders, the most "pushing". Perhaps because of the importance which the schools have assumed, the Islanders are depending upon them to guide them through their present situation which is marked by much dissatisfaction with the lack of control over their socio-economic environment and a sense of minimal involvement in the world about them.

III

Eskimo and the Schools : A Survey of Belcher Island Attitudes

Because they are depending so heavily upon the education program, either consciously or unconsciously, for a solution to their dilemma, the Eskimo of the Belcher Islands are at once both emotional and pragmatic in their evaluation of the schools. For the Belcher Islanders the school program is a flexible and useful adaptive tool, although this feeling is tempered with a great deal of criticism. In one sense, of course, the Eskimo must utilize the program in dealing with the outside world since it is required of all children between the ages of six and sixteen, but the Eskimo knows that he must cope with Euro-Canadian society and there are several reasons for the conscious use of the education program as an adaptive tool for making the adjustment.

First, as we have indicated, participation is required and for this reason the Eskimo cannot help but utilize the school. He may choose to learn, or he may perceive the school as but another symbol of Euro-Canadian oppression and regulation and thereby strengthen his resistance in personal rebellion. In either instance, however, the school serves as an adaptive mechanism.

Second, for the Belcher Islander, the Hudson's Bay Company and the school are the foremost representatives of Euro-Canadian society and are therefore the forces to which adjustment mechanisms must constantly be directed. Because of this the school is an ever-present element in the Eskimo's universe, and it is an element which he very strongly wishes to integrate into the scheme of things.

Third, cooperation and involvement with the school and its authorities carries a set of rewards: these take the form of careers and occupations which will presumably

be available through education, better health, good food and warm clothing for the children, and less obviously, more material goods from DIAND. (This last derives from a line of reasoning which advises placating and cooperating with the government rather than behaving in an indifferent or even hostile manner. Good behaviour, it is thought, will win favour and thereby gain attention to the Eskimo's wants.) One difficulty--for the Eskimo--has been that often in the past good behaviour was inconsistently rewarded. Such inconsistency only creates more confusion as to the proper way to live in western society. Inconsistency breeds confusion, and confusion breeds anxiety.

The fourth factor merely reflects a general desire, in varying degrees of intensity, for some form of incorporation with Euro-Canadian society. The Eskimo wants his situation to be as functional and beneficial as possible. He wants to be a part of the foreign society which has so diligently been infringing upon his for the last century or so. It is the schools which he sees as providing an answer to the question: "How can the Eskimo become a successful member of Canadian society?"

Hence, the Eskimo view of education is generally favourable, despite much dissatisfaction with the present program, and one can identify a set of felt educational needs to which there is attached a certain urgency: these needs must be fulfilled so that the Eskimo "can live better with the white man."

There can be no doubt that Eskimo perceive English as the single most important requirement for dealing effectively with Euro-Canadian society. At both Eskimo Harbour and South Camp each individual interviewed indicated a desire for more and better teaching of English. As expected,

parents wished for their children to know English (although some parents reportedly tell their children they may quit school if English is too hard), and the children all expressed a desire for learning the language.

At South Camp the adults expressed a desire for adult education in English. This is almost certainly a result of the interest shown toward them by a recent teacher who began informal adult classes in English and elementary mathematics. There may be other factors which have influenced their desire, and these will be discussed shortly.

At Eskimo Harbour, by contrast, no adult showed an interest in the suggestion of adult English classes. Many persons laughed at the thought of trying to learn the language formally, and several said it would be too much trouble for someone to teach them English.

Most Eskimo, including the children, felt that the Eskimo language should not be used in the schools as it would inhibit the learning of English. The remainder of those interviewed felt that Eskimo could be used to advantage in the first year or two, particularly since it would help to make the introduction and acclimation of the young child to the school system less of a traumatic experience.

Second on the list of these needs is practical education. The adults were unanimous in feeling that instruction should should be given in the areas of health, medicine, and child care. They also felt that boys should be trained in manual skills and girls in "home economics", i.e., primarily cooking and sewing. The students also held similar views although the males showed less enthusiasm for instruction in health and medicine than did their parents. The girls seemed more certain than the boys as to what they specifically wanted to learn, while the boys were much more confident than the girls that they would be able to use their education in dealing with Euro-Canadian society.

Questions regarding education in mathematics, general biology, government, and Eskimo culture and history met with mixed enthusiasm. Support for these subjects was much less marked than that for English and practical training. Mathematics was thought to be generally useful, but very difficult. Several individuals, both adults and students, thought it would be good to learn about the "white man's" plants and animals while others thought such education should be confined to the biology of the North. Still others could see no special advantage to biology, but would accept it as a part of the curriculum. To study government was generally regarded as desirable only if it would help the Eskimo "get more" from DIAND. Education in Eskimo culture was thought to be either unnecessary ("They can learn that from their parents."), interesting ("That would be nice."), or good ("Yes, then we would know more about the Eskimo in Alaska.") Some thought it a luxury when compared to items such as English. Such feeling came out clearly in such interview situations as this: Q: "Do you think the schools should teach about where the other Eskimo are and how they live?" A: "The children should learn English."

A number of Eskimo Harbour parents, and only one parent from South Camp, stated that the schools should offer instruction in the Bible or, more clearly, in the "ways of the Bible." The probable explanation behind this request will be discussed shortly.

Finally, one Eskimo Harbour female said that she liked very much the "exercises" (physical education) she had learned in school, and she felt that the school should teach more of them.

For the most part these needs are both logical and to be expected. A reading of the Education Review 1965-66 (Anonymous: n.d.) shows that with the exception

of Bible instruction* the government curriculm is oriented in such a way as to fulfill these perceived needs (as well as other observed needs[4] such as art and handicraft). To determine whether experience with the school has limited the range of what the Eskimo could conceive of as being a need or whether the program is designed to fulfill observed needs is not the point in question, however important it might be.

What we must ask is why the Eskimo of the Belcher Islands express both concern and discouragement over the present educational program, a program which they deem highly desirable. We must ask this question because the Eskimo's attitude toward the education program is an extremely important factor in determining the depth and sincerity of their commitment to planned development in the North. Without Eskimo cooperation there can be no successful adaptation, only exploitation and eventual death for the Eskimo and their way of life.

To understand the present atmosphere of disenchantment we can best begin by noting that to bring up the topic of education in Belcher Island households is to attract attention immediately and to ensure conversation for some time. The talk is nearly always marked by a low intensity, but it is underlaid with anxiety. Much concern is expressed for the children who, more than anyone else, have been affected by the program.

One topic which frequently recurs is that of traditional skills (e.g., hunting, fishing, making skin boots and other skin clothing). The adults express much concern over the children's loss of these skills, while the children claim either to know the old skills,

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*One of the early teachers on the Islands was a member of an evangelical religious sect. It is thought that he and his wife impressed upon the Eskimo the importance of "living according to the Bible." (Guemple: Personal Communication)

to be able to learn them if necessary, or that such knowledge is not that important. Some children laughed at the mention of making skin boots, even though their parents both make and wear them. Both parents and youths acknowledged that the school had made the children "poorer" Eskimo. One man told me, in the presence of his son, that the boy was a very bad Eskimo; another said his son was unable to do well any of the things that an Eskimo should do. The older parents were more concerned over these matters than the younger ones, although this may be partially explained by the fact that the younger parents have the younger children, many of whom are not yet old enough to be expected to demonstrate their ability, or lack thereof, in the skills required of adult members of traditional Eskimo society.

Another area of concern is that of an emerging language barrier. While the periods spent in Great Whale River do not seem to have had a serious effect, thus far, on the child's command of Eskimo and its vocabulary, they do have a significant effect on dialect. The dialect variations between Great Whale River and the Belcher Islands have not as yet been worked out, but many adults complained that once a child has spent more than a couple of years in Great Whale River, he can only be understood with difficulty.

This problem was dramatized twice during our visit to the Islands. During one interview our interpreter, who had been in the Great Whale River school for four years, was producing seemingly good data in a remarkably short time considering the individual with whom we were working. After the session, the author commented on the rapid progress. The interpreter stated simply that the subject was from Great Whale River and that he, the interpreter, could understand him with greater ease than he could understand his native Island dialect.

The other instance involved an interview session with an older man, his adopted daughter who had been in school at Great Whale River for four years, and D.L. Guemple, an American anthropologist who knows the Island dialect. Fairly often Guemple was able to provide faster translation than the girl; it was not a matter of reluctance on her part or of her limited command of English, but of dialect differences between her and her father. While it is unlikely that such language problems are primarily responsible for adult dissatisfaction with the school's program, they certainly contribute to such feelings.

Still another factor which the Eskimo seldom verbalize, but which seems to be contributing to the disillusionment at Eskimo Harbour, is the failure of the adults to realize any benefits from the school program. Because the government has no facility at Eskimo Harbour other than the nursing station, which is unoccupied most of the year, the adults are only infrequently involved directly with Euro-Canadian society. Unlike the South Camp Eskimo who are able to work at maintenance jobs and, occasionally, as guides for the visitors at the fishing cabin, the Eskimo Harbour people seldom have the opportunity to work with Euro-Canadians. The few westerners who do come in contact with them tend to treat them as uneducated and unsophisticated. Their failure to see any benefit in formal education is further supported by the fact that no Eskimo Harbour youth has gone to school, held down a good job, and then helped his parents. One young man learned how to repair motorized snow sleds in Great Whale River, and the Islands' four sleds are dependent upon his maintenance services. But the adults, including his father, are uncertain as to whether he learned this skill in school or from another Eskimo.

Another youth is thought by the Eskimo to have "learned a job," but he refused to return to the Islands and has not contacted his parents in over two years.

One obvious point to be made is that the parents in Eskimo Harbour have difficulty in seeing any immediate returns from education. The adults state that the only thing which the children have learned which is of value to the Island society are the chores which are performed as part of hostel living.

This impatience for some tangible return is supported somewhat indirectly by traditional Eskimo world view which, based on the uncertainties of Arctic life, has never encouraged the luxury of gambling on something several months, let alone years, in the future. The process of formal education requires just such a gamble.

These feelings are in sharp contrast to those in South Camp where the government school is located. At this settlement, which, as we have noted, contains several government buildings and which maintains radio contact with the Great Whale River DIAND office twice daily, the Eskimo "see" benefits deriving from the school. The ease with which South Camp adults are able to indentify with the education effort is due, of course, to more than the presence of physical facilities. With the children living at home while attending school, they are able to take home workbooks, picture books, and texts; parents are able to see what the child is doing and to be associated with his educational development even though they may not understand what is going on. The teacher resides in the community, he confers with the parents about the children's problems, and he is able to explain to the parents what he is doing. But what has helped the South Camp parents more than anything else has been the recent effort toward adult education.

The adults have been brought into the school and exposed to the formalized learning process. They are thus beginning to understand what the children are learning as well as the struggles which accompany the process. The

DIAND interpreter at South Camp commented on the interest shown by the parents toward the school during the previous year and how they were now beginning to see all that "the school" involves. Parents also mentioned their recent understanding of the school, their desire for education, and their pleasure at being able to work with the teacher.

It is important to realize that one of the major results of this identification with the school and participation in the learning process (however elementary it may have been) is a much strengthened desire to become more involved in Euro-Canadian society. The adults and children seem much more concerned with what they are going to "do" with their education than are their counter-parts at Eskimo Harbour. Furthermore, school children at South Camp were beginning to think seriously about attending the Pre-Vocational Center at Fort Churchill for additional training. No child at Eskimo Harbour was even considering going to Churchill.

The greatest area of concern, the first cause of dissension, at both settlements is the loss of parental control and the subsequent problems of child discipline that arise from the present school situation. As the arrangements now stand, the Belcher Island child is taken from his home sometime between the ages of six and twelve and "accommodated" at Great Whale River for anywhere from four to ten years.[5] Removing the child from his parents at an age when he is beginning important role-identification and during the years when parental discipline and guidance come to bear on the child's social relations has serious consequences, particularly in the eyes of the Eskimo parents.

The problem is much greater at Eskimo Harbour where the children are taken at an earlier age than are those from South Camp. The problem is probably felt to be greater, in

part, because of the lack of understanding mentioned above. Eskimo Harbour parents complained that children have "no respect" for them, they "don't listen to their parents," they "do bad things to each other" (probably a reference to illegitimate pregnancies), they "get bad", and "children need parents, but they don't get them in Great Whale River." The complaint most frequently brought out was that of a loss of respect, and it seems connected with the parents' awareness that they are becoming less and less influential in their children's development. That a loss of influence rather than actual delinquency is the real source of complaint seems to be substantiated by the vagueness of the comments given above. Parents were sure that children had become bad, but when pressed on the point, they could not specify in what way. Illegitimate pregnancy was, in fact, the only problem mentioned specifically.

The solution which Eskimo Harbour adults seek, given their desire to educate the children, is to have Bible instruction in the curriculum. The Anglican Church has been in contact with the Belcher Islanders long enough to have become integrated with Eskimo concepts of moral behaviour and family authority. (We refer to the patriarchal nature of the religion and church organization and to such moral stipulations as "Honour thy father and thy mother.") The parents thus feel that if the children could be formally reminded of their obligations to their parents and to the community, then everything would be better. It was, then, clearly apparent at Eskimo Harbour that the Eskimo were relying upon Bible instruction as a solution to what are, or what are thought to be, discipline problems.

Interestingly, only one discipline problem was mentioned at South Camp: at this settlement two adults complained about one of the students, a troublemaker who threw stones at an old man's house. He was called a loudmouth and a "smart" kid. The only person at South Camp who expressed a desire for school instruction in the "ways of the Bible" was the young man's mother.

Another aspect of discipline to which the Eskimo give great attention is the type of discipline reportedly exercised at the Great Whale River school. The children report that mouths are taped shut, children are spanked, children are tied to chairs for turning around to look at friends, and food is withheld as punishment. These offenses are said to occur most frequently in the hostels, but the teachers are sometimes accused. The children do, of course, misbehave, and we have evidence that punishment as severe as "strapping" does occur occasionally. We were, however, unable to validate the majority of the accusations. One DIAND representative not directly connected with the education program said that the complaints were probably highly exaggerated and were undoubtedly out-growths of the separation from home. On the whole such an explanation seems plausible for some of the cases. To take the child from his home where he receives a great amount of love, attention, and tolerant discipline and to place him in a school and dormitory situation where he must conform to somewhat rigorous group treatment and regulations is undoubtedly somewhat traumatic. Add to this the fact that it occurs in a large and seemingly alien environment, and it is small wonder that the children return with tales of cruelty. Such impressions of cruelty, regardless of their origin, serve to effect a negative appraisal of the school and, hence, work to its detriment.

This complex of attitudes is, however, only symptomatic of a larger socio-economic situation which lies at the core of Eskimo dissatisfaction with the DIAND education program. We can now explore this situation and its relationship to the acculturation and adaptation of the Belcher Island Eskimo.

The Trauma of Social Change--and the Failure of the Schools

Throughout this paper the education program has been referred to as an adaptive mechanism. By this we mean to indicate that education, as an institution, seeks to provide the individual with such skills and knowledge as will enable him to live and to function effectively as a member of society. The western tradition would also lead us to believe that with an education an individual will be able to make some positive contribution to his community. The Eskimo tend to view education in much the same way, at least insofar as their understanding of it will permit.

It is quite apparent, however, that the Eskimo schools are failing to fulfill these expectations. Perhaps more than anyone else, the Belcher Island Eskimo perceive this failure. This perception is bound up with a complex of attitudes which seem to reflect what might be termed <u>socio-economic inadequacy</u>. And this, for the Belcher Island Eskimo, is caused by the trauma of social change.[6]

By this we refer to the Eskimo's sense of inadequacy with respect to the social and economic world in which he finds himself. In the case of the Belcher Islanders this insecurity can best be seen in their constant demands for more houses, more fuel oil, more welfare payments, more frequent visits by the Great Whale River DIAND administrator, more opportunities for cash incomes, and, in general, more attention from the government. It is not enough to dismiss these demands as evidence of the fact that the Eskimo is out to get all he can from the government (although this undoubtedly partially accounts for such behaviour); we must also ask <u>why</u> the Eskimo wants these things.

To answer this question we note first that while incorporation with Euro-Canadian society is viewed with cautious hesitation, it is seen as desirable. This feeling has been working itself out over the last century or so and has become increasingly evident in the last decade. Civilization has advanced relentlessly, and as the Eskimo became increasingly involved in a market economy with its concomitant emphasis on occupational specialization and economic interdependencies, this desire emerged.

The Islanders are unhappily aware of their present dependency condition. Without welfare the Eskimo would not have sufficient money income to purchase the amounts of gasoline, fuel oil, replacement parts for outboard engines, firearms, ammunition, and dietary supplements upon which he has become dependent. In addition, the Eskimo know that the men who have mastered the traditional skills of hunting, fishing, and kayak-building are few in number and that their number is decreasing rapidly. Furthermore, administrative policies have tended to create settlements, and as more material possessions and welfare houses come into Eskimo ownership, movement to more abundant resource areas becomes more and more difficult.[7] Thus, while the Eskimo have virtually no understanding of the complex machinery and policy of the federal government, they know that at present they are "on welfare", and in traditional Eskimo society welfare has always been tenuous, dependent upon the resources available. If the Euro-Canadian welfare resources now being utilized were suddenly withdrawn, there would be a serious emergency stemming from the fact that the Eskimo is, quite simply, no longer equipped to survive for an extended period on his native resources.

Because economic involvement has mushroomed so greatly in recent decades, the Eskimo, strapped in his dependency condition, is making, and indeed must make, socio-economic demands upon a complex technological system of which he is not a part. The system which has encompassed him is one for which he is unprepared. The Eskimo finds himself almost totally without adaptive tools for fulfilling his emerging (real) needs.

Hughes (1963) has noted this dilemma and indicates that the Eskimo lack "instruments of control" and "control strategies." In particular, money, as "an inherently compact and transposable instrument of social action, far more versatile than other adaptive techniques" is one of the most effective tools to have at hand (Ibid.: 74). To have money is to have self-esteem (at least in socio-economic terms).

Yet, this one truly important tool is only superficially under the Eskimo's control. Welfare payments are not fully understood and, in any event, they give a man little pride. Fur prices dwindle in the face of competition from synthetics. Stone carving is somewhat profitable, but its value escapes the Eskimo; he knows it brings him money, but he cannot see what possible value Euro-Canadians place upon carvings.

The Eskimo thus finds himself in a technological society in which needs are constantly being generated, needs whose fulfillment is dependent upon cash-earning power. At present his power is not great, and the Eskimo is left with little in the way of adaptive instruments.

A second factor underlying Eskimo frustration is to be found in the evolving rejection of traditional society. This rejection is largely a consequence of the increasing desire for incorporation. Looking at this situation, we find that in traditional Eskimo society a cultural "template"

guaranteed that, with the exception of deviant personalities, the goals, values, and activities of each individual would be respected and regarded by others as integral and generally necessary for social and biological survival. As long as one's behaviour remained within the tolerance of the pattern, society would function smoothly with only gradual changes through time. With the advent of purposeful forces of acculturation which showed enticing technological and economic advantages, the goals, values, and activities of the Eskimo were subjected to questioning and re-interpretation. In essence, the question asked was this: "Are the traditional ways the most effective means of obtaining the Euro-Canadian advantages which we now seek?" The answer, of course, was negative, and consequently behaviour patterns began to be adjusted in attempts to bring about the desired ends. One of the most serious outcomes of this decision was to make the man neither Eskimo nor "white man". He is left somewhere inbetween, living in the half world of a disordered universe.

The Eskimo of the Belcher Islands have chosen to deny much of their heritage. They show extreme reluctance to talk about the traditional patterns of life, but they show an avid interest in comments on the Euro-Canadian world. They attempt whenever possible to define and to imitate the behaviour of Euro-Canadians. The values they hold, the beliefs they espouse, and the goals they seek are increasingly western in orientation. Adults deny much of their traditional life in order to appear more like, hence likeable to, the Euro-Canadians. Children frequently dissociate themselves from their parents for the same reason. Herein lies one of the basic causes for what can be described as a social rift between the generations. We will discuss this shortly, but for the present we might note that the adults are much more tradition-bound and less capable of rapid and/or fundamental changes than are the children; this is, of course, a common characteristic

of social groups around the world.

Briefly, the psychological thread running through Belcher Island Eskimo behaviour and attitudes in regard to their acculturative situation can be described as follows: if the Eskimo is to maintain psychological stability he must preserve, through practice, as many of his traditional cultural solutions to life problems as are possible, given both the latent and manifest acculturative forces and desires which pressure him to be like the Euro-Canadian. This gives rise to conflict since:

(a) the traditional solutions will not solve many of the present problems; and,

(b) there is no visible guarantee to the Eskimo that the Euro-Canadian social and cultural solutions will work for him.

Thus, the first factor offers a sense of security but not resolution, while the other offers at least a chance for resolution but not security. The Belcher Islander realizes a necessity for incorporation into Euro-Canadian society, but the psychological risks involved create a frustration which prevents him from making the transition smoothly and quickly.

The above description is more applicable to the adult population of the Islands; to be more specific, we can note that it is also more valid for Eskimo Harbour adults than for those from South Camp.

Because of their relatively greater isolation from Euro-Canadian society, the Eskimo Harbour adult population tends to be more conservative than its southern counterpart. There is a relatively greater reliance on tradition and a less clear conception of the complexities involved in Euro-Canadian society. Eskimo Harbour adults find it more difficult to adopt and to utilize effectively Euro-Canadian cultural tools. There is a corresponding perpet-

uation of their traditional patterns although we must emphasize again that we are speaking in terms relative to South Camp.

Eskimo Harbour adults also seem to be much more concerned about their children living in Great Whale River, and they come closer to regarding the mainland community as a "den of iniquity" than do the South Camp people.

The South Camp parents, in contrast, seem much more willing to consider and to adopt new patterns of behaviour. They appear to be much more at ease in the company of Euro-Canadians. Furthermore, there is much less of the tendency to cling to tradition than one encounters at Eskimo Harbour. For example, it is a widely known fact in Eskimo Harbour that there is hardly a decent hunter in the whole of South Camp. There seems to be an underlying feeling that the people there have not kept up their skills. Observation supports this northern attitude, for the South Camp hunts and game takes were poor and sloppy when compared to the Eskimo Harbour hunts.

In any event, as seen earlier, the South Camp adults have had more opportunity to work with Euro-Canadians, and they are beginning to understand some of roles involved in western society. More importantly, they have been able to identify with the educational program.

We must not, however, overlook the position of the children in the two communities. We have seen that because of their familiarity with the school program the South Camp parents feel more confidence, and less concern, about sending their children to Great Whale River. The children sense their parents' good faith and feel less anxiety over going away to school than do the children from Eskimo Harbour. This is reflected, incidentally, in fewer complaints from South Camp children over harsh discipline and hostel conditions.

The children from the North Camp, while they want an education and realize a need for it, are on the whole less enthusiastic about leaving home in order to obtain it. This probably results from their parents' dissatisfaction with the *in absentia* arrangements as they now stand, and because the parents do not understand what the school really is and what school means to the students. Still another element to consider is the outlook of the children regarding incorporation. It should go without saying that the children have, or are getting, a better understanding of Euro-Canadian society. That is after all, one of the objectives of the educational program. The most serious consequence of this increased understanding is that they have less and less in common with the adult population of the Belchers. The children have learned that if they are to be successful in Euro-Canadian society they must "be like the white man," and such imitation requires that they value work activities and other social patterns which are not practiced or particularly valued by their parents. The result is that the children find it somewhat difficult to respect and to appreciate their parents because of the generational difference in valuing criteria. This friction is further compounded at Eskimo Harbour where the parents are looked upon by the children with what is almost condescension for their naiveté regarding the school.

School children from Eskimo Harbour form a much tighter-knit peer group and spend much more time within this group than do children from South Camp. At Eskimo Harbour, one goes out looking for "the children", while at South Camp one looks for "a child." We cannot help but conjecture that the more pronounced rift between children and parents at Eskimo Harbour is due to the intellectual separation created by the school experience. This rift is present at South Camp, to be sure, but it is less evident and less severe because of the parents' familiarity and sense of identity with the school.

Still another factor which affects the school

children is the pressure upon them to develop into strong individuals who have clearly defined positions in society. The parents have the universal expectation that their children will "amount to something." The crucial fact is that neither the adults or the children are quite sure what that something will be. Eskimo Harbour parents, in particular, with their obscure understanding of the complex roles and other social requirements of life in Euro-Canadian society have great difficulty imagining their children functioning as a part of the western world. South Camp adults have a better understanding of the factors involved, but still show some hesitation to commit their children fully to western society.

The children are thus pressured to fulfill the roles of Eskimo society first and then to participate in Euro-Canadian society in whatever way possible to "make things better at home." The school tries to meet this demand by training the Eskimo for jobs in the North, but the child's contact with the accoutrements of western technology creates desires which, to him, seem impossible to fulfill given the scope of opportunities found in Great Whale River. The consequence of this is that the children are not entirely sure with which society they should affiliate themselves, and they are even less sure of their ability to fulfill the requirements of either society.

V

Conclusions and Recommendations

It has been the intent of this paper to bring to the fore a number of factors relevant to the changes occurring in Belcher Island Eskimo society today, changes which in large part derive from the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development federal school program. Our primary purpose was to examine the Eskimo's attitudes toward the dominant Euro-Canadian society to which he is attempting to adapt, particularly as these attitudes are formed through contact with the school program. Hopefully the role of education programs, as seen by an ethnic population which is attempting to co-exist with a dominant one, has become more clear.

Having discussed these attitudes within the context of the Eskimo's present socio-economic situation, we might ask in what ways can the education program be adjusted in order to assure greater satisfaction with and success for the development of the northern peoples.

Several areas stand out as having particular importance:

1. ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

An initial step would be to recognize more clearly the role of the Eskimo adults in the educational process. As Fisher (1966) has pointed out, it is not enough simply to educate children, the needs of the adult population must be given consideration also. Evidence from the South Camp on the Belchers demonstrates that there are several benefits to be gained from adult education programs.

If adults were to be involved in an adult education program or were otherwise exposed to the Euro-Canadian school system, they would much more readily understand the

educational process. They would be better able to sympathize with their children's problems. They would have a better grasp of the "whys" and "wherefores" of incorporation, and, most importantly, they would slowly acquire skills, however rudimentary, which would begin to serve as "instruments of control" in their condition of change. Involvement would help them to feel a part of the on-going incorporation rather than as just so much baggage. As things now stand, each day the child is in school only serves to widen the social and psychological rift between him and his parents.

2. ADULT PARTICIPATION IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

Much would be gained also by involving the adult Eskimo in the teaching phase of the schools. They could quite easily be brought into the classroom to talk on such topics as the traditional Eskimo skills of hunting, sewing, boat building, skinning, and story-telling. Again, several functions would be served by such talks. They would satisfy the adults' desire to keep the children informed of the traditional way of life. They would increase the self-esteem of the adults. They would help to foster respect for the adults among the children.

The teachers would certainly find the increased communication beneficial, and as the children began to sense the mutual respect and trust between parents and teachers, school problems would decrease.

3. EDUCATION IN ESKIMO CULTURAL HERITAGE

Another way of enabling the Eskimo to adapt more effectively is through a renewed emphasis in the schools on Eskimo culture. We have indicated the value to be derived from having the adults instruct the youth in their heritage. Beyond this, however, is the fact that the Eskimo's identity

as Eskimo may very well be their most valuable resource (Guemple 1969: 50). As Eskimo they receive recognition and consideration; were they to be swallowed up into the Canadian welfare system they would be little better off than many of the American Blacks or, even worse, the American Indians. As Guemple has put it: "Whatever the Eskimo's eventual image turns out to be, it is the native's right to to play a major role in the definition..." (Ibid.). If his adaptation is to be a reality, then educators have a responsibility to keep the Eskimo informed of his heritage.

4. CULTIVATION OF SOCIAL MODELS OF WESTERN MAN

Still another needed change involves Eskimo exposure to social models which are in line with what the Canadian people see as being "a worthy citizen." Specifically, we refer to the western socio-economic roles and to the Euro-Canadian models of social behaviour which are presented to the Eskimo children.

In regard to socio-economic roles, we have seen the range of occupations to which the child is exposed in Great Whale River. These are supplemented in the schools by movies, film strips, texts, and other materials which deal with "how people live and work" and "working in other lands." In most cases, whether in school or in the community at large, the child's exposure is minimal. The children see more than they learn, and they have little idea of the responsibilities of the worker. They have no idea, for the most part, how much work is worth in dollars and cents. Not one Belcher Island child had any idea whatsoever of the obligations (beyond the visible duties) of any given job, or the type of individuals with whom one might be working in a specific occupation. They did not even know whether or not a certain number of hours per day would be required of them were they to be employed by a Euro-Canadian. Beyond this, there is virtually no idea of the complexity of industrial society and technology. When questioned about the types of

jobs which might be found in a Euro-Canadian community, the longest list a single student could create had six items: teacher, nurse, secretary, (sales) clerk, pilot, and policeman.

Greater understanding should not, perhaps, be expected from a child with no more than six years of schooling, but in anticipation of the not too distant future when the Eskimo will be more extensively involved in Canadian industrial development (not necessarily of the north), it would seem advisable that some preparatory foundation be considered, if not implemented, which would better prepare the student for participation in industrial activities.[8]

In reference to social models, we recall that the children spend prolonged periods in Great Whale River, that they are increasingly reliant on non-traditional values, and that they are being separated from their parents both by their increased knowledge and by their parents' naiveté. A consequence of this is that the children no longer find their parents acceptable as social models. The children are inclined to regard their parents as old-fashioned, unsophisticated, or worse yet, unsuccessful. Futhermore, imitation of parental behaviour would be self-defeating for the Eskimo youth because it runs counter to their desire for identification with Euro-Canadian society.

These elements, coupled with the emerging desire for incorporation as full-fledged Euro-Canadians, have caused the children to turn to westerners for models whenever possible. The teachers undoubtedly fall under closest observation and are imitated more frequently than other Euro-Canadians in Great Whale River, but all westerners fall under close scrutiny.

It is for this reason that great care should be taken in teacher selection. In addition to good professional

qualifications, northern teachers should possess strong personal attributes which approximate those which the government wishes to instill in the Eskimo. The personalities of Eskimo children are in a formative stage of development when they arrive in the federal schools; it would seem advantageous for the government to exercise the greatest of care in selecting the personnel who will be responsible for shaping the character of tomorrow's northern citizens.

5. TEACHER TRAINING IN ESKIMO LANGUAGE

There exists a very meaningful debate on whether or not teachers in the north ought to be trained in the Eskimo language. The major points against such instruction are (a) the cost of such an undertaking; (b) the reluctance of most adults to learn another language; and (c) the possibility that using Eskimo in the schools would reinforce Eskimo speaking behaviour when English is the sought after objective.

The points in favour of such instruction are that (a) it would demonstrate to the Eskimo adults that the teachers do in fact have a respect for Eskimo culture; (b) it would enable teachers to communicate far more effectively with the younger children and with the parents of the students; (c) it could make the explanation of English much more meaningful for the Eskimo children; and (d) it could lead to better designed techniques for teaching English.

6. IMPROVE THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF TEACHING CAREERS IN THE NORTH

This point seems to be one which has long concerned educational administrators. Hopefully, one of their objectives is to draw into service well-qualified teachers who will be willing to make long-term commitments to education and social change in the north.

Somewhat related to this, and a point of much concern for the Eskimo, is the extent to which the teachers become (or fail to become) integrated into the life of the community. The Eskimo of the Belchers, for example, cannot see how the teachers are really dedicated to helping them learn when they only stay for one or two years. They feel that if the teacher cared deeply, then he would work more diligently to build and to develop the northern settlements; more importantly, he would show rather than tell, the Eskimo how to develop his homeland.

Barely does a man begin to learn of the north before he transfers to another school. "How," they ask, "can such a man help the Eskimo?"

7. ESKIMO PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL GOVERNANCE

This is a point which will demand resolution more and more in the future, but administrators would do well to begin considering it now. As familiarity with Euro-Canadian society spreads through the Eskimo population, the Eskimo adults will begin to desire and to qualify for roles of leadership and participation in civic councils and community organizations which will need to be involved in the direction of the schools. Another perspective would ask: When will the schools stop being paternalistic and start being fraternal in orientation?

8. PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES TO THE COMMUNITIES

Still another way of making the transition period much smoother for the Eskimo would be to attempt to provide, through the schools or the Department of National Health and Welfare, more extensive psychological services. Hopefully, some special training could be given to such personnel in order to acquaint them with the unique problems that arise from the trauma of rapid acculturation. To provide such services would surely alleviate much hardship and suffering.

9. ASSIMILATION OR INTERMEDIATE ADAPTATION

Finally, the ultimate question which must be asked

by policy makers and teachers alike is that concerning the short and long range objectives of the Eskimo education program.

Generally speaking, there are two points of view with respect to such programs.

The first of these represents the position that minority groups ought to become fully integrated with (i.e., assimilated by) the dominant society. If this view is held, then administrators are obligated to undertake an extensive socio-cultural operation which will systematically eliminate all affiliation with the subgroup culture--which implies a very real destruction and subsequent reconstruction of the identity-images of the entire ethnic population. The American anthropologist Sol Tax has pointed out that such steps can be undertaken only with a total disregard for humanity. Even then, it is a long and arduous process; it took 250 years of American pressure before the Catawba Indians voluntarily detribalized in 1956, and the Acoma Hopi have yet to let any outsider into the ceremonial kiva. The nature of their sacred rituals is not known, even after more than 300 years of probing from surrounding dominant cultures.

Obviously, the objective of this approach is to transfer the social and cultural life-lines from the minority group system to the dominant system. Minority groups are, quite simply, educated out of existence. One example of this point of view is to be found in a recent article which indicates that one of the objectives of Canada's Indian education program (operating under this approach) has been to get the natives into the middle-class socio-economic system and thereby relieve the nation of a major welfare burden (Fisher 1966:261).

The other approach is based on the the concept of intermediate adaptation. "Intermediate" is used here

to indicate that the adaptive state is one which involves both the Eskimo adapting to the western socio-economic world, and the Euro-Canadian government administrators adapting their plans and policy to the Eskimo world whenever possible.

It has been pointed out that there are three basic aspects of the concept of intermediate adaptation which must be taken into account when applying it to present-day change in Eskimo society. Thus, the concept

(i) involves a commitment, on both sides, to planned change;

(2) implies the end-result to be a relatively stable, but not static, socio-economic condition; and

(3) "presupposes a compromise adjustment--a kind of cultural half-way house." (Guemple 1969)

Two factors crucial to <u>successful</u> adaptation are that such programs of planned change be undertaken only with the consent and cooperation of the native and that those programs proceed only so far as the native community permits and finds acceptable. Insofar as possible, full consideration must be given to the Eskimo's preferences if the planned changes are to be successful.

In essence, then, intermediate adaptation refers to an on-going process of satisfactory adjustment between a dominant and a subordinate social system. "Satisfactory" is defined by the dominant social system as being congruent with established plans and objectives, and by the subordinate system as subject to manipulation by the present socio-cultural capabilities of the population and congruent with the perceived socio-economic role of the people themselves.

The major difference between this approach and the assimilation approach previously described is that here the

minority group culture is encouraged to develop and to maintain its identity. The people are given the freedom to be themselves while, at the same time, they are given--through effective education programs--the socio-cultural instruments required for adapting to the dominant culture. Its primary value, of course, is that it encourages a strengthened self-image which is essential for anyone, minority group member or otherwise, who wishes to cope with the stressful situations of rapid social change.

If the educational program for Canada's Eskimo is to be effective, both in the sense of creating social stability and in creating confident and psychologically adjusted individuals, then the second alternative must be accepted.

The decision as to which alternative will be chosen, however, remains one of the awesome responsibilities of the Canadian people. We hope that this examination of the Belcher Island Eskimo and their education program will be of assistance to those making that crucial decision.

Notes

1. Our definition of needs is in accordance with Goodenough (1963: 53-54) when he specifies that "our needs...necessarily [depend] on the conditions we want and how existing conditions differ from them...For any set of circumstances, the actions and conditions, if any, that will satisfy a given want are presumably matters of fact, things that can be objectively determined." Felt needs are the perceived needs of the individual whether or not they are realistic. Observed needs are the needs which others see; real needs are "the most effective means that an omniscient observer would select for gratifying the [individual's] wants."

2. The Belcher Islands are located some eighty miles off the west coast of Quebec in Hudson Bay. The closest mainland community of any size is Great Whale River, P.Q. There are two permanent Eskimo communities on the Islands; Eskimo Harbour (sometimes called North Camp) and South Camp (sometimes called School Site). They are approximately sixty miles apart. Kat-a-pik, a third settlement of about sixteen people, is best thought of as a satellite of Eskimo Harbour which is but four miles distant. Figure 1 places these in proper perspective. The population of the Belcher Islands fluctuates irregularly, but at the time of this research there were approximately one hundred and twenty Eskimo living there.

3. Recent efforts of the Belcher Island Eskimo to participate in the Northwest Territories Council elections are obviously evidence to the contrary. The Eskimo voted, and when no plane arrived to pick up the ballots, they took the locked ballot box to Great Whale River--over the winter ice on dogsled.

4. See note 1 above.

5. The ideal of formal education during the years between the ages of six and sixteen has not always been met in reality. Some parents choose not to send children out for any one of a number of reasons, and children sometimes refuse to go because of their unhappiness in Great Whale River. Such violations are difficult to correct, but the government has been attempting to make reality come a bit closer to the ideal and has been generally successful.

6. For an elaboration of a number of aspects of the psychological adaptation required in response to the trauma of social change, the reader is referred to Born (1969).

7. Anthropologica, N.S., Volume V, Number 1, 1963 is a special issue devoted to "Community Organization and Pattern Change Among North Canadian and Alaskan Indians and Eskimo." The work by Freeman (1967) contains an excellent discussion of settlement factors and patterns on the Belchers.

8. We acknowledge that the primary problem remains that of giving the Eskimo youth a serviceable knowledge of English.

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For the reader who is interested in pursuing such education problems further, one additional important reference needs to be indicated. I refer to the 1968-69 "Hearings Before The Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of The Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, 90th Congress." This seven volume (to date) report contains a number of valuable reprints as well as the most exhaustive survey of Indian and Eskimo education produced to date. A companion volume is entitled: "The Education of American Indians: A Survey of the Literature," by Brewton Berry. This latter work, also published in 1969, contains over seven hundred references to reports and studies on Indian and Eskimo education. All eight volumes are available from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.